1: Jenness--180-181 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 825

"Birds and animals too have extraordinary faculties and powers. Some of the shamans know their speech and can converse with them. Many animals have changed to human beings before the very eyes of the hunters, and changed as quickly back again. They can be offended by scornful words, and the hunter who mocks the caribou, for example, or the seal, will suddenly find himself stricken down by sickness or afflicted with constant ill-luck. A Tree river Eskimo who served the expedition for a time told us that his brother Annarvik [181] went hunting one day with another Eskimo named Angivranna. They sighted a brown bear on the opposite bank of a river and began to cross over towards it, but they had hardly reached half way when the bear's ears began to enlarge and gradually cover its whole body. Annarvik turned and fled to shore; when he looked round again a man had sprung out from beside the bear and entered the water. It disappeared below the surface, and presently the terrified Angivranna disappeared also, pulled under by his adversary. No sooner had he sunk than the brown bear vanished into the ground, but on the same spot appeared the mysterious man. Annarvik fled to his camp and told his companions of Angivranna's fate. The brown bear had killed him, the natives said, because he was too good a hunter.

Quite recently another hunter met with a similar fate, according to local tradition. In the summer of 1914 a party of Eskimos was travelling about in the country south of Bathurst inlet. One day they saw a wolf and one of the men cried, 'Shoot it.' His gun,

however, failed to explode, and the wolf seized him by the wrist and dragged him to the ground. Another hunter shot it with his bow, but as the arrow pierced its body the wolf cried 'Oh' exactly like a man. Time went on, and the hunter's wrist slowly healed. One day he shot a caribou, and went on farther to look for more game. That night he failed to return to camp, nor was anything seen or heard of him for many months. The shamans held a séance and discovered that the evil shades of the dead, aggioktun, had murdered him. Finally, in the spring of 1915, his body was found with a wolf lying dead beside it. The wolf had been wounded by his bullet, but before it expired it had succeeded in killing the hunter; so the animals had their revenge."

1: Jenness--182
116, 784, 825

(1913-16) 1922

Copper Eskimo

"Nature has ordained that certain animals shall live in the sea and others on the land. The Eskimo therefore must follow the same distinction, and keep the products of the two regions separate. He is a little vague as to who enforces the taboo. Sometimes he says that the animals themselves would be offended and avenge themselves on the trangressors, who would take offence, and wreak their vengeance by sending terrible storms or a plague of sickness and death, especially when the natives are living on the sea ice; at other times again it is a deity who dwells at the bottom of the sea and controls the supply of seals, or another living in the sky, or one of the many spirits that dwell in cliffs and tide-cracks and similar places, in so far as they have any fixed abode. But whatever the manner in which he thinks the taboo will be enforced, --and the same Eskimo will believe in every one of them-- there is no doubt whatever in his mind that punishment will inevitably follow disobedience. Woe betide the Eskimos if they fail to observe the due restrictions; sooner or later misfortune will overtake them in some form or another, and then the sin, however secret, is sure to come to light. Even if the wrong-doer does not confess immediately, as often happens, yet the shamans will soon discover his transgression when they invoke their familiar spirits and enquire into the cause of their misfortunes. Long ago certain people broke the taboo against cooking deer-meat on the ice, and the ice cracked up and every one was drowned. Such a result may happen again if the taboo be broken."

2: Stefansson--225-226 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
825, 117

"Beliefs concerning Caribou. Tannaumirk relates: In former times bull caribou when fighting would often get their horns interlocked and die thus or be killed. This interlocking may sometimes have happened naturally, but he knows that it was often caused by some chance watcher giving a twist to his hood; i. e., throwing the hood back from the head and giving it a complete turn with the hand, as one would twist a wet cloth in wringing it. Pannigabluk adds that her mother once saw bucks fighting. She twisted her hood and they promptly became interlocked, but the prongs of the horns were not strong enough and after a struggle the ones that held got broken off and the bucks went free. Billy has heard of bucks being thus caught, but has never seen it tried."

2: Stefansson--255 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
825, 811, 117

"July 8. Eskimo Habits of Mind. When we first saw robin redbreasts the other day all three agreed they were kĭyĭrk (the name for blue-jay) and fond of meat. When T. and I found first nest he said he now saw they were not kĭyĭrk, as the eggs were different, but he is now evidently back to his former view, for he agrees that he and B. yesterday had found a kĭyĭrk nest with three eggs. On reasoning the matter over P. concluded they might be kayōtak, e.g. they were not kĭyĭrk. From this B. violently dissented, saying kayōtak is not found here. The mental trait illustrated is the same with both, however. Each identifies the bird positively with a bird they knew before, though (I do not know kayōtak) the difference between robins and jays is great. This trait was noted in reference to snow geese, sulupaurak (arctic trout?) and aklaks (land bears). One must bear this trait in mind in reasoning about Eskimo prehistoric migrations on the basis of animal names, a source from which I now expect less light than I did before I understood their laxness in differentiations. (Cf. also the Noatak-Killirk, et. al, belief, that doe never fawn two years in succession). Last winter we repeatedly killed a solitary doe and fawn, when the doe carried an embryo, also often a fawn broke from a band and returned to look for its dead mother who had embryo. This last fact Kunaluk admitted was very strange in view of the known fact that if a doe had embryo that proved she had not fawned the past year, therefore fawn's return probably accidental. When single doe and fawn together, he called that accident, too, as any two deer might be found together, that the doe had milk in her udder did not

seem strange to him, perhaps because Eskimo women give milk five to seven years after bearing a child."

11: Stefansson--252-255 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 538, 825, 177

"We had here a striking example of how easy it is to be misled by native information. I had been led to believe in the spring that the [253] Coronation Gulf people never had had any knowledge of the killing of bow-head whales, although they were familiar with the carcasses of those that had drifted up on their beaches. Neither had they apparently ever seen a live one, which is not strange, considering the two facts that bow-head whales are not only no doubt very rare in these waters, but the people themselves are always inland in the summer time and are therefore not in a position to see the whales even if they might come into these waters in July or August. But here at this village and now for the first time, after vain inquiries all summer, we heard various stories of whale killings, most of them, however, centering about a single man whom they called Kaplavinna. They told how this person had a very large boat. This again was new information, for up to that time we had heard nothing about anything but kayaks. In the spring, in fact, the people had seemed to be unfamiliar with the very name of umiak.

I listened to several of these stories with great wonder and asked many questions which were readily answered, but which threw no great light on the subject, until it occurred to me to ask one of the narrators, 'Who told you this story? Did you get it from your father?' The man said: 'No, I got it from Natjinna.' Now Natjinna had been a camp follower of ours all summer, and I had asked him specifically in the spring both about bow-head whales and umiaks and he knew nothing about either. It seemed

strange to me that Natjinna should have misled me so in the summer, and I made up my mind to take him to task for it when I saw him. Two or three weeks later, when I happened to meet him, I asked how was it that in the spring he had been unwilling to tell me anything about whales or big boats and now he told long stories to others about them. 'Oh, but those were the stories that Natkusiak told me,' he answered.

It turned out on investigation that my own man, Natkusiak, was the fountainhead of all these stories, and that the redoubtable whaler Kaplavinna was none other than Natkusiak's former enployer, Captain Leavitt of the steamer whaler Narwhal. These were the local versions, changed to fit the circumstances and geography of Coronation Gulf, and translated into terms comprehensible to the Coppermine Eskimo. I had heard Natkusiak telling these stories the [254] previous spring, but the versions that came to me a year later were so changed that they were not recognizable, and had been so thoroughly localized graphically that the narrators could tell me off just which Coronation Gulf headland the adventures had taken place.

When Natkusiak told these stories, as I noticed on many occasions, he never made any allowances for the fact that he was dealing with things entirely strange to the local people. He discussed davits, masts, sails, anchors, harpoon guns, dynamite bombs, the price of whalebone and the like, exactly as he would have done in his own home village at Port Clarence where these are all familiar topics and matters of everyday conversation. The very names of these things as well as the concepts behind them were

absent from the vocabularies and the minds of the local people, and the ideas which they therefore got from Natkusiak's truthful stories were very far from those which have been gained from the same narratives by a people whose everyday experiences made them comprehensible.

From the seeds sown here by Natkusiak there had grown up a local myth about Kaplavinna and his whaling adventures, --a myth which Natkusiak himself would have had fully as much trouble as I in recognizing, ---just as exactly as the discussion of the Christian religion by a missionary and of a strange social and political system by a school teacher gives rise to the most astounding ideas in the minds of the Alaskan Eskimo....

Another story which we picked up at this time was that of the Imnait. There were vague and mysterious animals living in an unknown land to the west, which is also inhabited by the Kiligavait. This story did not give us nearly so much trouble in identifying it as did that of Kaplavinna, for the name of the monster was a correct reproduction of that used by my own Eskimo in the previous year in telling their adventures in mountain sheep hunting. Mountain sheep, of course, are found nowhere east of the Mackenzie River, and could not, therefore, be directly known to the Coronation Gulf Es- [255] kimo. These people were also unfamiliar with the dangers involved in the possible snow-slides and other peculiar conditions of mountain hunting.

They had received from Natkusiak the general idea that mountain sheep hunting was dangerous, and being unable to ascribe any danger to the mountains as such, they had transferred the dangerousness of the snow-slides and precipices to the sheep themselves; and the hairbreadth escapes from death in snow-slides which Natkusiak had described became in their version hairbreadth escapes from the teeth and claws of the ferocious mountain sheep. The kiligavait, which they had associated with the mountain sheep in these narratives, were nothing but the mammoth, known to all branches of Eskimo race by name at least, and known here also, according to what we were told by they occasional finding of their bones. Of course, Natkusiak had told nothing about mammoth hunting, but the mysterious mountain sheep naturally allied themselves in their minds with the also mysterious mammoth, and were therefore to be coupled together in recounting the same adventures. Thus we had a side-light, not only upon the origin of myths among primitive people, but also upon the startling rapidity with which they grow and change their form."

2: Stefansson--256
825, 117

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"July 24. Near Dismal Lake. Lice. Pan. says 'annirut' come out, as child at birth, from a man's body in at least three places she knows of, at the nipple, under the arm, and near the upper inner part of the shoulder blade."

"They have heard of dwarf seals, which are thought to live in the great lake of the Netsilik: Willerstedt Lake. These seals are quite small but otherwise just like other seals. They are no bigger than that they can be carried in a game bag, and yet the old bull seals smell just the same as real old bull seals.

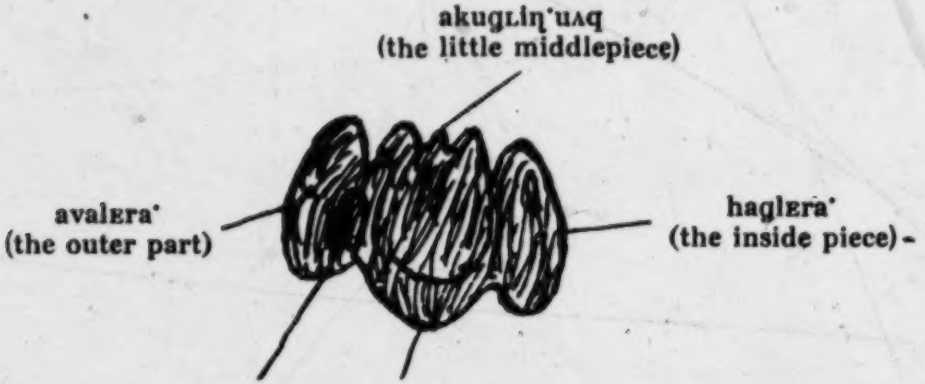
In former times animals in human form [redacted] very common. Then they lived just like men as long as they were in human form. In more recent times they only know of cases of wolves and wolverines having been met in human form by a shaman. A wolverine had a wolf for his wife, and the shaman heard the wife scolding her husband because he could not lift the same heavy burdens that she could. In olden times, too, everybody could easily turn into animals, and until quite recently shamans have had the same powers. Thus before the eyes of the whole village Hêq's father was able to turn himself into a polar bear. The secret of doing this has now been lost. All that remains may be classified among the demonstration tricks of the shamans: an ermine skin is displayed by a shaman; it is then laid in under the platform, and shortly afterwards, they say, an ermine comes leaping out on to the floor. I have not seen this demonstration, but I have seen shamans turn into wolves or polar bears. This transformation was more than naïve, and was nothing more than suddenly letting wolf or bear teeth 'grow out of their mouth' during a seance. They had concealed the teeth in their clothing, and once in the mouth, it was all they could do to prevent them falling out again. Nevertheless,

the people firmly believed that the spirit of a bear or a wolf had beset the shaman. After the seance the teeth were skilfully ejected and hidden away again."

3: Rasmussen--107 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 825

[MPK: This sketch is of the liver of a seal.]

"To explain the various, very detailed names of the parts of the liver Netsit drew the following sketch."



3: Rasmussen--198 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 539, 825

"The salmon-maker, who turns splinters into salmon.

There was once a man who could make all kinds of salmon of wood. He hewed them off with an axe, and, when he had finished them, threw them into a lake.

The so-called eqalugpe·t are said to be made of a reddish, hard wood; their flesh is red, people say, because they are made of this wood. The kind that is called iho:t is made of a whitish wood, for its flesh is white, whereas the arctic cod is, they say, made of a wood with very little grain. All woods, they say, are salmon.

Sea scorpions are said to be made of a kind of willow that grows along the ground, and has a rough bark.

It is said of the salmon-maker that he is open all the way through from mouth to backside."

Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the escaping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

*Other Skins.* Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin, also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

223 They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that
237 they tore the skin of a small bird down the legs without cutting it, and, when
825 drawing the skin over the head, held the feet in the teeth instead of tying them
136 to a tent-pole or other convenient object. Loon skins made excellent whisks for beating off the mosquitoes. The bill of the largest species of loon, *Gavia stellata*, was frequently sewn to the top of the dancing cap; and the feet skins [301] of swans, geese, and ducks converted into tinder bags. Every household had its [415] stock of ptarmigan skins for use as dusters, and to wipe the hands and face after [515] eating or handling blubber; one skin served the whole family and all its visitors until every feather was worn out. The Eskimo used other bird skins for the [262] same purpose, especially sea-gull skins, the oily feathers being naturally more [294] suitable for towels than ptarmigan feathers. The skins of fish were usually eaten. The Copper Eskimo, unlike others of their race, never made any real clothing from fish or bird skins, although sometimes they stuffed a few feathers or the skin of a loon inside their sealskin shoes.

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

*Mittens.* The ordinary mittens (*poalluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23*a*). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23*b*); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23*c*); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23*d*). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin ones at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *savaktotik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mitten, it was cut out in three pieces.

531 curved lines apart from circles unless they were conditioned by the curved surfaces of the objects on which they were engraved, as was the case with Figure 187*a*.[1]

532 A few bone carvings, all very crude, are illustrated in Figures 125, 126.
32 The only naturalistic forms are the bird figures attached to the needle-case
[524] in Figure 95. Among a child's toys was a figure of a loon carved from antler, and a tiny antler box with wooden bottom that represented the bird's nest (Figure 188).

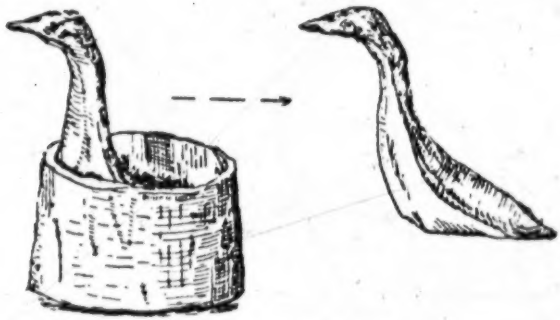


Figure 188. Bone carving. IV.D.605. 1/1.

532 Noticing that children frequently outlined with their knives, in the hard
826 snow, figures of human beings or their clothing, I distributed a number of
12 notebooks and pencils and asked both adults and children to fill them with sketches. The new pastime amused them, and they quickly furnished me with about a hundred drawings of men and women in which the faces and hands received far less attention than the details of the tattooing and clothing. Those natives whom I watched began indifferently at the shoulder or the foot, and moved the pencil back and forth in every direction with no more dexterity than we expect from a 2 or 3 year-old child, and the results (Figure 189) were not
[825] dissimilar. Their drawings of animals such as the caribou, every part of whose anatomy was as familiar to them as their own, were even cruder; and how a map could indicate the geographical features of a country seemed beyond their comprehension. Evidently the sketching of scenes, like writing, was a totally new concept to them; yet I cannot believe that they lack talent, or that the second or third generation from today will not show as much proficiency in drawing as other Eskimo.

### KNOTS

284 The Copper Eskimo made use of several different kinds of knots, all, except perhaps one, familiar enough to Europeans; but whether they had special names for them I did not discover. To finish off the end of a braid of sinew, or knot the end of a line, they used the common thumb knot; the "figure of eight" appeared to be unknown. Two lines were generally joined by the reef knot, but if one had a loop at the end a single sheet bend was employed. The loop itself might be made in two ways, by cutting a small slit in the end of the sealskin thong and passing the other end through it, thereby producing a kind of slip-

[1] A pair of men's outer trousers, collected by Captain Collinson at Cambridge Bay in 1853 and now in the British Museum, is decorated with a "column" of chevrons, the only instance I have seen of this design.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148 ]